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But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tatchila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

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276 to excess as among some other peoples. It is almost
[439] never grown by them, their supply coming from their
[177] negro neighbors or through trade. The Indians claim that tobacco was not known to this region in aboriginal times, but that it was introduced considerably later than the Spanish conquest. This statement is borne out by the fact that the name for tobacco is ta'kō, which is evidently an adaptation of the Spanish term tabaco. They use neither pipes nor cigarettes, but confine their smoking entirely to cigars made by themselves. They procure the half leaves of tobacco in bundles, which are stored away until a smoke is actually wanted, when each person rolls his own cigar. The habit of chewing tobacco appears to be unknown.

276 In addition to smoking for pleasure, tobacco is used
776 ceremonially. When it is desired to drive out malevolent
789 spirits from a certain spot, a medicine-man is called in, and, assisted by the ordinary people present and perhaps by another medicine-man or two, he performs a ceremony which makes the place untenable for the spirits. Each participant provides himself with a cigar and a small calabash of a decoction made from the leaves of a certain herb, and all make a systematic tour of the infested place. As they go slowly along they wet everything about them with the decoction, blowing it from the mouth in a fine spray. Interspersed with this spraying is the blowing of tobacco smoke into the air and on any objects with which they come in contact. The head medicine-man sings or whistles certain songs and waves a special banner from time to time as the party proceeds, and

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these acts, combined with the spraying and smoking, gradually drive the spirits from the locality.

Another important product of this region is pita, called sa'nō, by the Cayapa, a plant resembling somewhat the yucca of the Southwestern desert region of the United States, but with leaves which sometimes reach a length of fifteen or sixteen feet. It is usually grown at some distance back from the river, and seems to thrive best in the dense shade of the jungle. When once well started it requires very little attention other than the cutting away of undergrowth and clearing of the field which is incidental to the harvesting of the leaves. These leaves yield long, very strong fibers, called sañ bu'tyū, which are twisted into two-ply strings. These are much used in net-making, in binding the selvage of textiles, for fish-lines, and for a variety of other purposes where very strong cord is required. The leaves are cut close to the ground and brought to the house in bundles such as those illustrated in pl. LXVI, where a large and a small bundle of the freshly cut, long leaves are shown leaning against the side of the house. Each leaf yields a large number of fibers, the laborious preparation of which will be discussed in speaking of string-making.

While pita is the strongest material and is considered the best from all points of view, there is another material, called in the local Spanish cosadera and in Cayapa señgi'lya, which is used especially where string or rope of large diameter and of moderate strength is desired, such as for hammocks. This material is derived from the bark of a tree and is obtained by heating in a manner

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622 624 village. The successor of an official is definitely known long before the death of the latter, but an official vacancy is not actually filled until the coming of the priest. Then, in the presence of all the other officials and anyone else who may wish to be present, the priest delivers an address in which he names the new official, announces his duties and privileges, commends him to the respect of the people, and charges him with the duties and responsibilities which he is about to assume. On the death of the chief, for instance, his duties are relegated to some other official, usually one of the "alcaldes," until such time as the priest shall arrive and inaugurate a successor.

465 622 681 None of these officials are supposed to receive compensation other than the honor and respect in which they are held. The chief, however, usually levies fines upon offenders, of which he takes personal possession and could, if he so desired, use a portion of them for his private needs, since no special account of such matters is kept by anyone. As a matter of fact such a thing rarely or never happens; on the contrary the chief uses the fines for paying the services of officers of the law whom he may send on missions of various kinds, such as bringing culprits to justice, settling disputes among his people, and the like. A portion of the money he uses also for the payment of shamans whom he employs now and then to expel dangerous spirits from his village, from deep pools in the river, or from other places where these mysterious beings are supposed to endanger the lives of the people at large. At the present time, when coins of Ecuador and Colombia are comparatively easy to obtain, fines are paid in money, but in earlier times they were always paid in commodities.

[756 776 789] [436]

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586 684 in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to 582 684 marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

761 753 776 [754] As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various means. For instance, they may be placed by some malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

774 775 177 There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the soul. One informant maintained that there are numerous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

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to be resident in the house or in the surrounding ground are expelled in the manner described.

Similarly after death, since the soul of the departed is believed to return to the house and may cause illness or even death of other members of the family, shamans are called in and the particular soul expelled.

Such a soul is not simply driven into the jungle, but ordinarily is driven into the ocean. It goes to one of two places: to the island of Gorgona off the southern coast of Colombia, or to a large mythical sandbar far out at sea. Sometimes souls are driven only down to the sand beaches along the ocean near the mouth of the river, or in some instances to some secluded and lonely spot far in the mountains. In any event the services of one or more shamans must be enlisted within a month or so after the death of a person in order that his returning soul shall not bring illness and perhaps death to any of the surviving members of the household.

In speaking of souls and spirits it must be borne in mind that as these two terms are here used they are not identical in Cayapa conception. Every animate being has a soul or shade which is a definite part of itself and without which life is impossible. This soul lives on after death. It has the form of the body it occupies, and has the power of leaving the body and wandering about when the body sleeps or is otherwise unconscious, and in this particular resembles a spirit. A true spirit, on the other hand, is a supernatural entity which resides in an object, animate or inanimate, or in a particular spot, but which has nothing to do with the existence of that object. It may take the form of the object it inhabits, especially if the object is animate; but fre-

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776 quently it has the form of a dwarf or even of a normal human being, especially if its abode is an inanimate object. These spirits may leave their abodes and travel at will, or they may take their abodes wish them. They have great magic powers, both for good and for evil.

754 In addition to the benevolent offices of the shaman,
756 he may exercise a malevolent function by calling spirits to his assistance for the purpose of killing or otherwise doing harm to his enemies. The spirits which he uses for this evil purpose may be those which he uses for good in other cases—they may aid him in killing an enemy at one time and in curing a friend at another.

776 The abodes of spirits are numberless. They may live
778 within almost any smooth water-worn stone, especially a black or a red one; they are always resident in prehistoric potsherds, especially those of human or animal form; and abide also in almost any object of stone or other hard material of unusual form, particularly if it is smooth. Many mountains and hills contain spirits, both within them and on their slopes and summits. Also nearly every mammal, bird, reptile, and insect is the abode of a spirit entirely distinct from its soul or shade. It is these many spirits residing in both animate and inanimate objects that are the media by which shamans work their magic for both good and evil. A spirit is sometimes called forth from its abode to serve the shaman while thus separated from the object in which it dwells; but it may equally well serve him while in its abode, in which event the object in which the spirit abides accompanies it on its mission.

000 Furthermore, treatment by magic is almost the only

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SPIRITS

776 In addition to human beings and other animate creatures, the world is peopled by a myriad of spirits of many kinds. As has been already indicated, these spirits live in or upon mountains, at certain places in streams, in stones, in fragments of ancient pottery, and in every sort of object of unusual form. Many are benevolent spirits, while others are always malevolent, and still others may be both malevolent or benevolent as occasion demands. Some classes of spirits are entirely male, others entirely female, while in still others are found men, women, and children, and full family relations. Some are giants, some dwarfs, and many are of ordinary human size. Most are in human form, though the bodies of some are deformed or are lacking some particular parts or organs. Many of these spirits dress as do the Cayapa, though others have special forms of dress, and still others no dress at all. Spirits are of various colors also, though the greater number are of the same color as well as of the same bodily form as the Cayapa. In large measure they move about only at night.

THUNDER

776 821 One of the most important of the spirits recognized by the Cayapa is Thunder, kū'ĭdya. According to some informants the Thunders are two, a male and a female; they somewhat exceed in size the average spirits, and have light-blue bodies covered with coarse hair somewhat like hog-bristles. The thunder spirits wear no clothing

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and do not paint their bodies; they have large blue wings with which they fly from place to place, and the flapping of which causes the detonation we call thunder. They have no special abode, but frequent certain places more than others: especially do they frequent a particular high hill far up the Rio Cayapas. 776 821

Other informants differ in some particulars in their description of Thunder. By them it is said that he has no wings and does not fly, but that he and his wife sit constantly on top of a large tree on a high hill far away in the mountains. They are giants, with very massive backs, and are very strong. They have very long finger-nails, which are hard like rocks; these they shed from time to time and when found they are much prized by shamans for curing disease. Instead of having bluish bodies covered with bristles, the Thunders wear the ordinary attire of the Cayapa, but of a blue color. In addition they both wear blue caps, and both have long hair on their arms. When in a bad temper, Thunder talks loudly and growls, thus making the thundering noise. His bad disposition is especially manifest in the rainy season, while at other periods he is mild-tempered, growling only occasionally. Thunder's wife never has anything to say. It is said that up to about a generation ago the Thunders lived toward the lower course of the Rio Cayapas, but that in recent years they moved into a very remote part of the mountains and that thunder is consequently less frequently heard now in the Cayapa country. [755]

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LIGHTNING

776 821 [177] Lightning, kū′ĭdya pĭdya, which almost all peoples seem to recognize in one way or another as directly connected with thunder, is attributed by the Cayapa to the sword-like weapon carried by the Thunder spirit. As they describe this weapon at the present time, it is obvious that modern ideas have intruded, although it seems probable that the concept of lightning coming from an implement carried by the Thunder being is aboriginal. The sword is said to be of steel and to be carried in a scabbard; it is highly polished, so that when it is unsheathed the glint of the sunlight upon it is like the reflection from a mirror. It is maintained by some that Thunder strikes and kills people with this sword, or at any rate with the glint of light from it.

It is said that in the dry season Thunder is quite contented and lives at peace with the world. In the rainy season, however, he becomes restless and very much discontented with human beings and with conditions generally, and it is then that, according to the first informant mentioned, he flies from place to place through the clouds, flapping his wings and, making an uproarious noise, swinging his sword and causing the flashes of lightning. In due time, however, his wrath subsides and he becomes weary, and during the remainder of the year he grows restless only occasionally, with the result that thunderstorms rarely occur and lightning is seldom seen.

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CAVE SPIRITS

Another important class of spirits are the bū′tcūlya, or tūnda, called also by the Spanish name malava. These spirits are very numerous, and live, each family by itself, in what may be termed hollow mountains, that is to say, mountains containing enormous caves (a tū′hūrū), with numerous chambers, each illuminated by means of a sande-sap torch. Within such a mountain the house arrangement is much like that of a Cayapa dwelling, except that it is not elevated upon house-posts and of course has no thatch. It also has no storage loft, and its floor is simply the dirt or stone floor of the cavern. Access to it is by means of a tunnel entrance in the side of the mountain, never through a shaft on the summit. The entrance is covered by a very large mat and is not visible to human beings. Here the parent bū′′tcūlya lives with his family in exactly the same manner as would a Cayapa. He also has domestic animals and birds as have the Cayapa. His "dogs" are the jaguar, ocelot, and puma. He also keeps as pets the wild-hog, the peccary, the two large species of rodent called in Spanish guatin and guanta respectively, and various smaller mammals. His "chickens" are the two species of wild turkey, the grouse, and the doves of the various species common to the region. All these mammals and birds living in the cave of bū′′tcūlya are the same as those which run wild in the mountains, except that they grow to immense size and are always very fat. Also all the wild birds and mammals of the jungle are the pets of the bū′′tcūlya and are under his special protection.

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776 He always has stored large quantities of the eggs of these birds, especially those of the large species of grouse known locally as perdiz. The house furnishings are similar to those of the Cayapa, except that the coiled equis, a very poisonous snake, is ordinarily used for a bench or seat, while the coiled boa is used as a receptacle for serving food.

In personal appearance the bū"tcūlya is similar to the Cayapa, except in color. By some he is said to be whiter and of a more reddish cast than the Cayapa, but by most his face is said to be bright yellow, for the reason that he paints it all over with yellow achote. It is claimed that the rest of the body is not painted. The women bū"tcūlya are said to be very beautiful and to have long flowing hair. By some it is claimed that the bū"tcūlya have bodies of normal form, but by most informants they are said to have no buttocks or anus, and hence are unable to defecate. For this reason they never eat, but gain sustenance from the water they drink, and especially from the steam and aroma arising from boiling meat and other foods. Although unable to defecate, they can urinate and hence are able to drink water and inhale steam. Their genital organs are perfect, but they are incapable of sexual intercourse except in bright moonlight.

[755] In ancient times the bū"tcūlya were much feared by the Cayapa because the sight of one of them would bring illness and ultimate death, and also because they would steal children and even adults. In more recent times, however, it is claimed that they do not steal people, but confine their depredation to dogs, pigs, and chickens, and the vegetal foods raised by the Cayapa.

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They go about inhabited places always at night, and although ordinarily they are invisible to the human eye, their presence is known by their blubbering speech, although they can speak intelligibly if they so desire. 776

That, to the Cayapa mind, the bū"tcūlya still exist and that they are much feared is shown by the following incident. While the guest of one of the Cayapa officials it was the author's custom sometimes to sit for [123] hours in the evening conversing with him on various phases of Cayapa life. On one of these occasions, on a pitch-dark night, we were talking merely of the ordinary pursuits of the people. A lighted torch had been placed between us, which precluded the probability of the informant being able to see into the darkness outside the house. Suddenly, in the midst of our conversation, he sprang to his feet, ran over and untied the dog, and sent him down the ladder, while he himself ran to the railing at the side of the house, meanwhile urging the dog on in pursuit of something out in the darkness. He later explained that he had heard the blubbering speech of a bū"tcūlya near the house; he had seen nothing of the spirit and knew of its presence only by the sounds it made, but had hastened to drive it away to keep it from stealing his pigs and chickens which were confined under the house.

These spirits are believed to travel during the day as well as at night, and in case a house is left without occupants they frequently visit it and either carry away the food stored in it or cook it on the spot for the purpose of inhaling the steam and aroma which arise therefrom.

Although it is maintained that the bū"tcūlya do not

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776 carry people away bodily at the present time, they nevertheless entice them to their caves, but this is said to be done out of a spirit of sociability and not with the desire of doing them bodily violence, though there is considerable danger attached to a visit to such a cave. These spirits, though ordinarily invisible, have the power to make themselves visible to human beings at will and when a person is off in the jungle, or in any lonely place, he is likely to be visited by a bū"tcūlya and invited to return with the spirit to his cave. If he goes and enters only the outer chamber of the cave, he can return, but if he is enticed into the inner chambers, escape is impossible, for these are guarded by vicious jaguars and pumas. On entering an outer chamber a guest usually is invited to sit upon a bench consisting of a coiled equis, and is offered food upon plates made of coiled boas. Stories are told of people who, on falling asleep or becoming intoxicated in some lonely spot, have been enticed into one of these caves by a bū"tcūlya and have seen and experienced various things in the outer chamber and yet have escaped and returned home. After such an experience a person [753] is likely to become ill, and if not properly doctored by a shaman will ultimately urinate blood and then die. Merely to see and to talk with a bū"tcūlya, however, is not of itself fatal as is the case with some other classes of spirits.

An experience is related by a Cayapa who once had occasion to make a canoe at a place back in the hills and far from his house, so that it was impossible for him to return home every day. He therefore, as is customary, built near his work a small "rancho," or temporary house,

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for himself. Upon returning to the hut late one afternoon, he found in the fireplace a fresh fire, which he could not account for; but he was more greatly surprised the next evening to find not only a fresh fire but a potful of cooked food. He therefore determined to spy upon the hut, and accordingly, on the third day, returned early in the afternoon, when he found there a very beautiful yellow-complexioned girl with a large pot of cooked food and with bala prepared for the evening meal. She had been cooking and preparing this food in order that she might inhale the steam and aroma from it. He entered the house and spoke to the girl, but received no answer. He then said to her, "Come, give your husband some food." She gave him the food, but still made no reply to his remarks. Later she left the "rancho" abruptly, saying that she did not wish to marry a man who ate all kinds of food while she was unable to eat anything.

Another Cayapa, out hunting, shot a turkey, and while reloading his gun was suddenly felled by a heavy blow from behind. Some one cried, "Why do you kill my pets?" He looked all about, but could see no one. This also was a bū"tcūlya, which had been angered by the shooting of the turkey, for all wild birds and mammals are the pets of these spirits.

Another old man, who was adzing a canoe near the bank of the river at a point a short distance above the house of the chief at La Herradura, became somewhat intoxicated and feel asleep. A bū"tcūlya came and invited the old man to his home. Accepting the invitation, he soon found himself in the large outer chamber of a cave. Here the bū"tcūlya showed him various mammals

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776 and birds, all very large and fat, which he kept as pets. He then invited the old man to sit upon his bench, which was a coiled equis, but the old man declined. He then offered him a cup of champo, a drink made of corn, the cup being a coiled boa. Again the old man declined. The spirit then invited him to go enter the inner chambers of the cave, but on approaching these the old man found them guarded by jaguars tied at each side of the entrance, which so frightened him that he did not dare to proceed. He had not gone more than about twenty-five feet into the cave, so was enabled later to escape. He sat in the outer chamber for some time, and talked with the bū"tcūlya, who explained his mode of life, how he obtained his food, and various facts concerning himself and this class of spirits, all of which the old man related on returning home. This old man returned the same day; but in the case of another Cayapa who was enticed into a cave of the bū"tcūlya, he was detained for three days, but the spirit was not able to induce him to enter one of the inner chambers. During his entire stay the spirit from time to time offered him foods of various kinds upon plates made of coiled serpents, all of which he refused. At the end of the third day he was permitted to return home, although he was much more dead than alive from the ordeal through which he had passed. The man almost immediately became ill, his body was covered with sores, and in the course of a week he urinated blood
[753] and died. After such a protracted visit to the cave of one of these spirits, death is almost certain.

That the mammals and birds kept by the bū"tcūlya spirits in their caves are so large is said to be because

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the spirits themselves never eat any of the material part of the great quantities of food which they appropriate and cook; consequently this food is fed to their pets. The food is thrown to them upon the floor, as we might feed an animal, but all food offered to human beings who are guests in the cave is served upon coiled serpents. 176

While the bū'tcūlya live primarily on the earth, they are able to ascend into the upper world by means of the rainbow (bū'tcūlya ciñgūtiñatū) to visit Thunder. The object of this visit is purely a friendly one, since the bū''tcūlya are not servants of Thunder and neither do favors for nor receive favors from him. [821]

INDIOS BRAVOS

A class of beings which seems to be partly mythical and partly to have a basis in fact are the Indios Bravos, or he ūya'la. As was mentioned in speaking of the history of the Cayapa, it is claimed by them that their occupancy of the country adjacent to the Rio Cayapas dates only from comparatively recent historic times, and that formerly there lived upon the river the Indios Bravos, a people who subsisted, partly at least, on raw human flesh. In other respects these people were much like the Cayapa themselves. They lived in isolated family groups and had no villages; they were a little taller than the Cayapa, but of the same general appearance and color; their clothing, however, consisted of a short skirt of black cloth, which was the dress of both men and women; they used no paint on their faces or bodies; their most striking physical feature was their very large eye 776 173

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776 173 teeth, similar to the fangs of the jaguar. After the Indios Bravos had preyed on the Cayapa for many years, the latter arose against them and descended upon their territory with a strong force armed with magic weapons, almost annihilating the cannibals and taking possession of their country. A detailed account of this trouble between the Cayapa and the Indios Bravos is given on pages 32-36.

It is said that a few Indios Bravos still exist far back in the mountains near the headwaters of the Rio Guayabamba, where, contrary to their ancient custom while on the Rio Cayapas, they have a village. They are never visited by any surrounding peoples, and are much feared by all. In recent years the only definite report of them which has reached the Cayapa is that, while a party of negro rubber gatherers was on the headwaters of the Guayabamba, they came upon three Indio Bravo boys whom they captured after a desperate struggle. Being on their way to Quito, the negroes endeavored to take the boys along. En route two of them died, but the third reached the city and was placed in the care of some priests. One of the Fathers later had a finger bitten off by the boy, thus showing the innate viciousness of the Indio Bravo tribe.

It is said that the Cayapa fought the Indios Bravos with a short palm-wood spear. These weapons are still found occasionally, partly embedded in the sand of the river where they have drifted from ancient times. These implements are said to be so dangerous that if a person attempts to pick one up or touches it in any way, illness is sure to follow. It is probable that this short

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palm-wood spear is in reality the magic wand which was used by the Cayapa against the Indios Bravos when they were driven from the Rio Cayapas, as before mentioned. The Cayapa were able to do this by virtue of their superior magic and the superior magic of their wands, and not by means of ordinary conflict, hence it is the magic of these wands or spears which still clings to them that renders them so dangerous even at the present time. 776 173

THE GIANT ASLAÛ'HMÛ

A class of male giants said to have been very numerous in former times in the foot-hills bordering the Rio Cayapas is the aslaû'hmû. It is said that these giants became frightened at the first firearms possessed by the Cayapa and that they gradually disappeared into the mountains farther back from the river. Here they still reside, and even yet capture people who venture too far into the jungle. These giants are from eight to twelve feet in height, have skin of the same color as the Cayapa, and have very long fingers without nails. Their noses are very large also, being about three inches in length; their eyes are very large, and the mouth is irregular in shape; they have no teeth, and are unable to talk; the upper part of the abdomen appears normal, but the back from the ribs down is lacking, and within the abdominal cavity the liver is the only organ present. They wear a kind of skirt of bluish cloth, somewhat similar in texture to that woven by the Cayapa, and a bluish shirt reaching to the umbilicus and with sleeves which come to a point just above the elbows; they also wear a tall blue cap 776

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which has no vizor. The aslaû'hmû travel in bands of five or six, or even more, and often attack hunters or others who are alone in the jungle. They carry long whips slung over the shoulders, the lashes of which are provided with thorns, and with these they strike and kill people. As the whip is swung over the shoulder to strike a blow it makes a loud noise like *thrûm-m-m-m-m!* They eat no food whatever, and make no use of the bodies of their victims—the body is simply left where it has fallen and may be easily recognized by the black stripes from the whips with which it has been struck. These spirits are themselves vulnerable, having been killed by hunters with lances, and it is from this fact that the Cayapa are able to give so exact a description of them. While out in lonely places hunters and others must use great care to protect themselves from the windward side, since the aslaû'hmû travel rapidly with the wind and usually attack from that direction. They travel on the contrary, very slowly against the wind, even though it be no more than a breeze.

ÛRA''TÛ

In a large village in the mountains to the east of Quito reside the ûra''tû, who have no other abode, but are able to travel very swiftly over any part of the world. Here they live in every respect like the Quichua Indians of the mountain region. They have low, thatched houses, without sides and with earthen floors. Every night the floor of one of these houses is thoroughly cleaned and a dance is held, in which most of the ûra''tû participate

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Some dance on their feet, some on their hands, and some on two long fleshy projections like horns or ears which grow on top of the head, but which are quite different from the ears of men. These spirits are about the size of the Cayapa, and live in family groups in their village as do human beings. Their skin is very black, and their hair kinky and bushy. The mothers carry their babies upside down on their backs. The women wear simply a black skirt, while the dress of the men consists of short trousers reaching almost to the knees, and a reddish short-sleeved shirt. In the mountain region nearer to the home of the ūra''tū they are a great menace to the people, since they steal human beings bodily, and merely to see one of them assures illness of some kind and probably death in a short time.

KŪ'ME

Another dangerous class of spirits is the kū'me, who live in the mountains and in deep pools in the river. These are described as being of about the size and general appearance of human beings, but with very black skin. The kū'me always go about with their heads thrown far back, so that they face the sky and are unable to look forward. They travel late in the afternoon and at night, and are in the habit of pursuing people who are out at such times. If a person is caught by one of the spirits, and especially if he is hugged by the spirit or if the spirit's breath touches his body, illness is sure to follow and death is certain unless the patient is properly treated by a shaman. These spirits are entirely invisible

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753 776 to ordinary human beings, and when they attack a person they remain with him throughout his illness and until death, when they snatch the soul as it is departing from the body and carry it away. They may be seen and driven away, however, by shamans who have drunk of the decoction of rum and bejuco, and who are able to chant the proper incantations.

PĪ''TCŪLYA

776 Especially dangerous to canoemen are the pī''tcūlya, a class of spirits which live in caves in the bed-rock at the bottom of deep pools and at various places along the banks of rivers. In these caves the families of pī''tcūlya live in the same relations as do those of the Cayapa. Their women are especially beautiful and all have very long flowing hair. In the evening and at night, especially 776 753 if the moon is bright, these spirits rise to the surface of the water and sport about, and it is at such times that the danger to canoemen in passing is greatest, since to see one of these spirits, and especially to approach so near that the spirit may blow its breath upon one, assures a severe attack of fever and is likely to cause death, although the patient may be cured by a shaman. The 776 pī''tcūlya women wear a black skirt, and the men employ the same kind of clout and shirt as those of Cayapa men. All wear very large necklaces of various objects made by the prehistoric inhabitants of the region. Both sexes paint yellow all exposed parts of the body. Like certain other spirits, they are unable to eat solid food, but subsist on the steam and aroma rising from cooking fish.

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Almost all deep pools in the river are the abodes of pī''tcūlya, although some contain more than others. Opposite Punta Venado is a large pool which contains many of these spirits. To reduce the danger to the people, the chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa summons from time to time one or more shamans for the purpose of driving out the spirits at this particular place, because, being so near the village, they are believed to endanger the lives of those who assemble to attend the fiestas.

PAIŪ Ū'HMŪ

The paiū ū'hmū are a mythical people who formerly inhabited the region of the Rio Cayapas, but who are now rarely, if ever, seen in this section. By some they are described as creatures of about normal size and with heads similar to those of human beings, except that in place of the mouth they are provided with a sharp beak with which they kill people, and afterward, by inserting this beak into the skull, suck all the blood from their bodies. They never eat human flesh, but subsist entirely on human blood obtained in this way. By others they are described as giants, nine or ten feet in height, who, in place of a head, are provided with a long, bird-like beak with which they kill their victims and suck their blood. All informants declare that the paiū ū'hmū are black in color, that they wear no clothing, and make practically no sound except a low call. They particularly attack hunters who wander far out into the mountains, and for a lone hunter to encounter one is almost certainly fatal, though two together may overcome and kill such a being.

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PEHŪRŪ PŪ'TYŪ

376 Another class of spirits, which are not particularly dreaded since they are never seen by man, are the pehūrū pū'tyū, a race of beings which in every respect are like the Cayapa except for the absence of buttocks and anus. There is a difference of opinion as to the abode of the pehūrū pū'tyū. Some claim that they are the creatures who inhabit the lower world, while others maintain that they live within the earth itself and that formerly they inhabited the region now occupied by the Cayapa themselves. According to these informants, at a time before the creation of the Cayapa there came a tremendous earthquake which overturned the earth and buried these pehūrū pū'tyū within it, where they still live in the same manner as when above ground. Then the Cayapa were created to live upon the earth; but at some future time another great earth convulsion will overturn the world again, bringing the pehūrū pū'tyū to the surface and burying the Cayapa and all other human beings.

The pehūrū pū'tyū, like certain other classes of spirits, subsist exclusively on the steam and aroma arising from caldrons of cooking food, this being sea-fish, which are very abundant where they reside. They have no homes, but constantly travel about. Like two other classes of supernatural beings, the pehūrū pū'tyū are incapable of sexual intercourse except when the moon shines brightly.

PA'LA'MBELE

A race of unimportant pigmies, called pa'la'mbele, inhabits the eastern margin of the world, in the vicinity

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of the hole through which the sun emerges from the lower world in the morning to make its daily tour of the heavens. These beings are said to be extremely small, owing to the proximity of their homes to the path of the sun, which is so hot as to stunt their growth. They never travel, and do neither good nor harm to man. There are, however, no corresponding peoples living about the orifice through which the sun disappears in the west.

PEJE BRAVO

In addition to the various spirits which inhabit deep pools along the river, there are what are known as peje bravo, large fish, armed with strong teeth, which sometimes attack canoes and canoemen, but which are also much feared because of their magic. Almost every pool of any considerable size along the river is reputed to contain one or more of these dangerous fish. To be sure they molest travelers only at comparatively rare intervals, yet they are much feared by canoemen. Like the spirits they may be driven from a particular locality, or they may be imprisoned in a cave or a crevice in the bed-rock of the stream and rendered harmless to passers-by. For instance, at a point known as La Herradura, on the Rio Onzole, there is a large pool at the lower mouth of a short, precipitous stream which cuts across a narrow neck of land for a distance of eight hundred or a thousand feet and connects one point of the main stream with another at least a hundred feet lower in altitude. The narrow neck of land connects a large hill with the mainland, and it is around the base of this hill that the main stream

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of the river takes its course, thus traversing a distance of five miles or more in reaching the same level that the smaller and more rapid stream reaches in a comparatively few feet. It is this long bow in the main stream which gives this point on the river the name of La Herradura, "the horseshoe." During periods when the water of the river is at the ordinary level, the shorter stream is small, but in times of flood it is a raging torrent. By the time the water has run its short course and reënters the main stream, it attains a high velocity and shoots a powerful, billowy current far out into the main stream which here widens into a deep basin. At the sides of this current are numerous eddies, and often great logs and even whole trees are held by them and whirled about for hours, in which process large limbs are twisted from trunks and everything fragile is splintered into bits. It is impossible for a canoe to pass through this pool at such a time; it is, in fact, none too safe to skirt the extreme edge of the pool opposite the torrent which enters it, on account of swirling logs. It is small wonder, then, that the Cayapa should conceive some great supernatural force to be hidden in this pool. It is said that up to within the last few years there lived in this pool a school of immense bright-red fish, which were a constant menace to travelers. Even to see one of these fish assured the illness of a person, and death was almost sure to follow. Still more dangerous was it to touch one of them. These monsters had a trick of floating as if dead upon the surface of the pool, especially when the water was at normal level and the surface reasonably calm. Curiosity of passers-by sometimes tempted them to paddle near

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enough to take a good look at the red object, or even to touch it, either of which proved fatal. At last, however, some powerful shamans visited the pool and by their incantations were able to impound the fish in a cave in the bed-rock at its bottom. They then sealed the mouth of the cave, it is said by some, with iron, so that for some years the pool has been passed without harm. However, there is still fear that the fish may some day break their bonds and again come to the surface and menace the lives of canoemen.

PĪ PĪ′NĪ

While there are many large pools along the Rio Cayapas which are given the general Spanish name charco, there is one so large and important that it is always known as El Charco. This is situated at a point about three miles down-stream from the confluence with the Rio Onzole. It was the former habitation of a kind of dangerous fish, or serpent, called pī pī′nī, literally "water serpent," concerning which the following story is told:

In former times El Charco was much larger than at present, covering the plain now adjacent to it and reaching from hill to hill on each side. Here lived an especially large pī pī′nī, which devoured everything coming down the river. It had a mouth twenty fathoms wide, and everything, including all driftwood and even entire trees that floated down-stream, was consumed by the monster. Within this great serpent there was an immense dry area in which accumulated all the logs and trees that

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776 he swallowed. Naturally, all human beings who went down the river upon rafts (for in those days canoes were not used) were swallowed by the pī pī′nī, so that the population of the region decreased rapidly. In fact, this serpent became such a menace to travelers that at last no one attempted to pass El Charco by water. From a point above El Charco a trail crossed the hills and returned to the river at a point called Nañjara, a short distance below El Charco. When travelers wished to pass down the river, they moored their rafts at the upper end of the trail and passed El Charco by land, taking another raft at Nañjara and continuing their journey to the sea. The same change was made on the return trip. Finally, four powerful shamans determined to rid El Charco of its danger, and after devising a method of keeping fire for a long time, they started down the river upon their raft. On approaching El Charco, they steered for midstream, and passed, as did everything else floating on the river, into the mouth of the pī pī′nī. Within they found great quantities of dry wood, and also the bones of the people who had been devoured during the preceding years. These people were not food for this monster, but starved and thirsted to death inside him. Once within, the four shamans set fire to the dry driftwood and then proceeded with their palm-wood knives to cut out the vitals of the pī pī′nī. The heat of the fire caused the monster to vomit forth the four shamans, together with much of the driftwood and other things that had floated during all these years into his mouth. Thus the shamans escaped. The pī pī′nī had been killed, but continued to burn. The

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shamans remained to see that every atom of the monster was consumed, for if even the smallest particle had remained a new pī pī′nī of as great or greater size would have grown from it. After this event the size of El Charco became what it is now, and a comparatively safe place to pass so far as supernatural dangers were concerned. As a matter of fact, however, at the present time it is a dangerous place in times of flood. There is a big bend in the river at this point, and a large pool with very strong eddies that make it necessary to use care in passing through it.

INVISIBLE TREASURE

There are stories current among the Cayapa of great invisible treasures in the form of caves filled with gold and silver which are guarded by invisible spirits, each of which carries a golden wand or lance. A shaman once visited one of these treasure caves and was told by the guardian that he would be given its contents if he would bring to him in exchange a child, a white dog, and a white cock. Neither he nor any one else has ever yet brought these, and the cave of treasure still remains unclaimed.

MYTHOLOGY

It is interesting to note that although there is such a highly-developed idea concerning local spirits, both malevolent and benevolent, and although these play an important part in the life of the people, almost nothing is obtainable in the way of myths. It seems strange

situated about thirty yards from the river side" (Stevenson 1829:409). Unfortunately, Stevenson's description of Cayapa life was meager, for he was much more interested in the Malába, a group of reputedly wild Indians who lived along the Río San Miguel, a tributary of the Río Cayapas. The Cayapa were as loathe to visit the Malába as Stevenson was eager to do so. After some hesitation, the alcalde, having been promised various gifts, ordered two men to take Stevenson up river. It is of considerable interest to note that the Cayapa chief had sufficient authority to order two of his people to accompany Stevenson into the land of the "savage" Malába. Stevenson reported that the Malába were quite gentle and that they spoke a variant of Quechua, a language spoken throughout the Andes from Ecuador to Peru and Bolivia. The Malába no longer exist as an ethnic group; however, this is the term used by the present day Cayapa to designate a group of evil spirits that dwell somewhere in the monte or bush.

It would appear, given the position of the Cayapa near the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas and the Malába at its upper reaches, that the migration of the Cayapa from their ancient Andean homeland as stated in

If the mother should die first, then no attempt is made to remove the child. Births that result in death are said to have been caused by witchcraft. Insofar as I was able to determine, no counter measures are taken for revenge. 845 [754]

When labor pains begin, the woman is given a hot drink of rum, lemon, and sulfur. Some women claim to have had painless births, and others claim it hurt each time. After the delivery the mid-wife cuts the umbilical cord /pesil^{y}i/ with a metal knife. The mid-wife buries the umbilical cord under the house about two hours following the birth. It is said that if the cord should be thrown away, then a malignant spirit would get it, and turn it into an animal that kills people. Also, if the cord were not properly buried, then the mother might die of hemorrhage. 844 [278] [412] 846 [776]

After the delivery the mother remains at home for two months. She does light tasks about the house, but she does not go to work in the fields. She observes some food taboos during this period such as being forbidden to eat crabs, clams, or meat. If the taboo is broken, it is believed that she will lose her [262] [784]

[The Negroes, however, wean their children after one year, and some Cayapa women are beginning to imitate them.] Weaning is accomplished by shaming or ridiculing the child, or frightening him with stories of cannibalistic ogres, or applying bitter tasting substances to the nipple.

The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that arise from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. This stems in major part from the fact that the child is generally kept within the confines of the home at these ages. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. Consequently his movements within the house are restricted and he is effectively blocked off from direct sunlight and on canoe trips he is usually placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is

than as a personal, phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is duende; he lives at the headwaters of

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the Río Camerones in the monte. People are afraid of him, because he can kill a person by catching his spirit. Duende is the owner of all of the wild pigs, as well as the /buhúl^{y}a/, a race of cave dwellers who are similar to the Cayapa in appearance. The second, /a^{y}ubéri/, is the devil who plays all of the musical instruments at the same time. Some think that he just touches himself to produce the sounds. He is naked, and black like a Negro, and has a very large penis with which he kills women when he makes love to them. These beings are not really a part of the religious belief system, but other spirits are.

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The Cayapa believe that people have three souls: /tembúka/ 'heart,' /kúme/ 'soul' and /ačúa cút^{y}u úhmu/ 'bald ghost.' At death, the /tembúka/ leaves the body by way of the mouth and goes straight up to Jesus, who has it punished. The manner of punishment is not clear, but it goes on for a very long time. Finally, the soul enters heaven. There are no clear ideas expressed regarding the nature of heaven, but many Cayapa think in terms of a big fiesta. The /kúme/ leaves the body at death in an unknown manner and wanders about the

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homoerotic play is evident during fiestas and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity. The oral fixation derived from anal frustration at such a very early period, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres.7 Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

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> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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manifestations? The psychoanalytic frame of reference regarding homosexuality is directly relevant for the Cayapa.

> The wish to have a larger penis, in general reflects a feeling of unacceptability and inadequacy, in particular a feeling of sexual inadequacy: a belief, usually unconsciously held, that sexual functioning has been injured and is vulnerable to further injury; a wish to supersede other males who are feared and regarded as superior. The wish for a larger penis and excessive fearfulness is significantly associated . . . . (Bieber 1962: 181).

The Cayapa tell a story of an ogre who is very ugly and black and looks like a Negro; he has a very long penis with which he kills women. Here we see all of the requisite feelings for a predisposition to homosexuality as well as an expression of underlying Cayapa-Negro attitudes, marked, from the point of view of the Cayapa, by fear, aggression, envy, and sexual inadequacy.

Manifest homosexualism would be a behavioral innovation, requiring of its innovator extraordinary determination, very much akin to the persistent and determined polygynous and incestuous behavior that has been noted in the legal material. It appears that one